temporarily into the office. He soon reappears and ushers one in to the qaimmaqam, and, after greetings and handclasps have been exchanged, one is seated. Cigarettes are offered with an invitation to drink a glass of tea or sherbet. The servant is resummoned to fetch these last, and the opening has been completed. Throughout the interview there is a constant coming and going. The servant re-enters with refreshments and the names of others. New visitors are ushered in, seated or left standing, and dealt with in the order of their importance. The telephone rings: a mudir feels lonely and has found some problem for superior comment, amid a great deal of irrelevance. The chief clerk glides in noiselessly with dossiers requiring immediate signatures. This office, unlike those of others of the qaimmaqam's staff, is a place of interminable interruption, for everyone, great or small, with a problem trys, if not personally, then through the offices of some more commanding personage, to lay his case before Caesar.

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Some of the qaimmaqam's more specialized duties have already been seen, such as the transfer of nomads to and from the Iranian authorities, and the execution of tribal law. First and foremost, however, the qaimmaqam must supervise and coordinate the activities of the mudirs and qadha officials, for problems too difficult for them or beyond the range of their powers are passed to his hands. It has been noticed that a mudir is given considerable local power, but because the qaimmaqam is responsible not only for the

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conduct of lesser officials but also of the populace as a whole, he tends to keep in close informal touch with both of these. Similarly, he is the step in authority between a mudir of his qadha and the mutesarif of Erbil and reports, taxes, recruits, and prisoners must pass through his hands. The same relationship described between mudir and qaimmaqam obtains between the latter and the mutasarif, because the qaimmaqam must refer his own reports and problems to higher authority. Lastly, it has been intimated above that the qaimmaqam is referred to as an appeal for all sorts of requests. In the Arab Middle East the private citizen has two customary approaches to the initiation of governmental action, at the "bottom," as is usual in most European governments, or at the "top." If, for example, one desires a permit, the first approach would require the submission of a written request to a clerk from whom it is transmitted through chief clerk, mudir, and so on, until it reaches the proper authority, accumulating documents on its way. It would then be returned in reverse fashion. The other approach, often a perogative of higher social rank, the direct application to the highest available authority, is, of course, the more effective because it bears the signature of authorization at the outset. It follows that the qaimmaqam is constantly beset by those, either in their own interest or in that of some "client," wishing to bypass the normal paths of transmittal.

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Throughout their history the Kurds have suffered a

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distinction for robbery and bloodshed, and certainly a part of the usual income of the old chieftains was derived from the exaction of "tolls" or outright kidnapping, either of persons or of goods, just as revenge in a blood feud was one of their outstanding duties. The introduction of better roads and the adoption of modern equipment by police and army have, without question, lessened greatly the frequency of these things, and the contemporary brigand --they still occur--finds himself heavily outgunned. In spite of this unsavory reputation, particularly for revolt, the Kurdish minority of Iraq cannot be said to be the most lawless in the country, for the Muntafiq liwa, a "Marsh Arab" province, is frequently cited as the worst. Although the army may be called upon in exceptional cases, normally the prevention and detection of crime is the work of the police, and their direction within the qadha is charged to the qaimmaqam.

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Service with the police is quite popular among the poorest classes, particularly among those of the "Marsh Arab" provinces, because, although the pay is extremely small, it is accepted as a substitute for military service and, as a career, offers an escape from agricultural drudgery. Officers are attracted to serve just as they might be to the army or the civil service, and are commissioned after graduation from a special school. They are usually derived from poorer middle-class families and have had a secondary education. There is thus quite a social gap between an officer

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The town of Rowanduz, as has been noted, has a population of some 5,000 persons, the constitution of which shall be dealt with later. A town of this size qualifies as a municipality (Arabic, baladiya) and the qaimmaqam of Rowanduz occupies, in addition to his own office, that of rais baladiya, a position similar to that of an American mayor, save that it is appointive rather than elective. Normally the rais baladiya in Iraq has a headquarters, comparable to the American city hall, and a staff of his own, including a treasurer and other officials. In Rowanduz, however, there has not been any particular need for the institution of such a separate body, and "metropolitan" administrative requirements are met through qadha or district facilities.

The problems presented by town administration appear to be very slight. Public order is maintained by the qadha-police and minor violations of the civil code (few of the townspeople have recourse to "tribal law") as well as legal processes are handled directly by the judge. In comparison with the outlying districts, the town is relatively law-abiding, aside from a certain amount of juvenile pilfering. Quarrels among women are quite frequent, the cause most often a fight between their children. Such skirmishes begin with words ("prostitute" is a favorite), and degenerate to hair-pulling or an exchange of blows with kabkabs (a wooden sandal with a leather strap; in Arabic, qubqab or qabqab). The neighbors usually intervene, and rarely, if ever, does such a thing require official attention. Fighting between men is infrequent, but can become

this prospered, I obtained a contract to furnish the army with fresh vegetables. I became thus a man of some wealth. 159 792 [443]

There was a man in Rowanduz who had great influence, Sayyid Hussai Effendi Zakriani. He begged me to become mukhtar, representative of the people to the government. Shakir Effendi here knows of this. He advised me not to do it, because I did not have great wealth. I did not listen and the qaimmaqam posted an order which appointed me mukhtar of the town. I caught Sayyid Ra'uf and pushed him into a narrow street. "Now I am master of Rowanduz," I told him. Everyone came to visit me, however, and I had to give them free food and clothing. I lost my money, and had to sell my horse, my pistol, and most of my wardrobe. Finally, I had to give up being mukhtar and Ra'uf Effendi was given the post again. [622] [574]

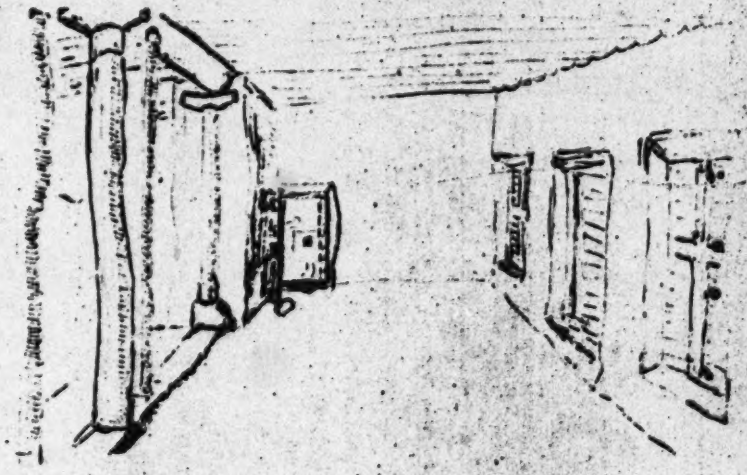
After this, I became sanitary inspector for the Baladiya, the municipality. I asked the qaimmaqam to give me full authority, and Rowanduz was never so clean. I hired a man to shout in the streets that by order of Mustafa Aziz any person who was found throwing rubbish or dirty water in the streets or who neglected to sweep in front of his house or who sold food with dirt in it should be fined. The fine was five dinars, a large sum. I also ordered that those selling food or kitchenware should have their plates shine like silver. I gathered the butchers together and told them they must cover their meat with white gauze to keep off the flies. I secretly inspected the weights, and I found that many merchants were selling less than the proper measures. I covered the top of the stream which gives Rowanduz its water with barbed wire and forbade anyone to bathe in it. No person had the right to wash his feet or his dishes in it. When people saw me, they ran for miles. On my reports, the government collected 170 dinars from the people of Rowanduz, Kawlokan, and Dyana. My salary was not large, however, and no one appreciated what I was doing. People complained to the qaimmaqam about my fines and my orders, and I had to leave the post. [624] [687] [364]

Thus I left this job and went back to my old trade as a barber. You have seen my shop in the bazar and you know that I am the best barber in Rowanduz. I became a darwish and a khelifa (Arabic, "successor," presumably to the Prophet) by studying with some old men, and now I am a great teacher with students of my own. I teach them such things as cutting themselves without pain, piercing their limbs with skewers, and catching snakes. I make up poems and songs in Kurdish. My present duties are to prepare [305] [785] [767]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

659 The idea of the Land Settlement Commission was apparently to get control of the ground and the fees hitherto paid for it, but by so doing the old relation between the owner of the village and his tenants would be dissolved, as in return for the dues he would obtain he would have to settle all the village's disputes with the administration and government of the country, give assistance in criminal, juridical and military matters, and maintain a guest house[73], a very important factor in the life of the village and its face to the world. The guest house was the place where every traveller, within definite limits, could obtain shelter and food. It was maintained in the house of the owner of the village as a part of it, and was at the same time the village club which the male inhabitants freely visited and felt part owners of. The guest house is not a business, but the village's joint solution of the obligations of hospitality[74]. It serves to enhance the reputation of the squire and of the village as a whole. If the peasants are relieved of this burden of payment to the village owner, a structural element of the village is at the same time abolished. Concerning this problem see Edmond's account[75].

C24 Within the village the peasants elected a parish officer, *mukhtār*[76], who registered births, attended to the military muster rolls and to local disputes.



9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

668 642 The fall of Tabriz was the cue for Qazi Mohammad to declare his own area independent — which it had long been in fact. On December 15 at a meeting in Mahabad attended by tribal chiefs, the leaders of the new Kurdish Democrat Party, Mulla Mustafa, and three Soviet officers in a jeep and armed with tommy-guns, he solemnly inaugurated the Kurdish People's Government and raised the Kurdish flag. A national parliament of thirteen members was formed, and on January 22, 1946, Qazi Mohammad was elected president of the new republic. The Minister of War was his cousin, Mohammad Hosein Khan Seif Qazi, a merchant whose military reputation rested on his honorary rank of captain in the Iranian gendarmerie. Seif Qazi, Mulla Mustafa, Amr Khan Shikak, Hama Rashid Khan Banei (just returned from Iraq with his tribesmen), and Zero Beg Herki [3] received the rank of "marshal," and were provided with Soviet uniforms, complete with high boots, stiff shoulder-straps, and red-banded garrison caps.[4]

578 668 The new government, which controlled only a minute territory including the towns of Mahabad, Bokan, Naqadeh, and Ushnuieh, sent observers to the opening of the Azerbaijan National Parliament and even convoked a miniature parliament of its own. It also dispatched Mulla Mustafa south to fight the Iranian garrisons in Saqqiz, Baneh, and Sardasht, cut off from each other and their base in Senandaj by the heavy winter snows.

RELATIONS WITH TABRIZ AND TEHRAN

Meanwhile in the north the capture of Rezaieh by the Azerbaijani Democrats brought new problems to the Kurdish government. Although the majority of the inhabitants of the plains west

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[3] Zero Beg was a bandit chief originally associated with the famous Shikak rebel chief, Simitko. Upon the latter's defeat and murder by Reza Shah, Zero Beg fled to Iraq, returning in 1941 to carve out a domain for himself in the Barandus Valley. He was often seen with Soviet political officers and seems to have been their favored protégé. Although of little importance in his own tribe, the Herki, most of whom still followed their hereditary chiefs, these Soviet connections enabled him to play an important role in developments in Kurdistan.

[4] Other officials of the new government were Hajji Baba Sheikh, local religious leader, Prime Minister; Sadiq Haideri, Minister of Works and Propaganda; Nanaf Karimi, Minister of Education; Mohammad Amin Mu'ini, Minister of Commerce; Ahmad Ilahi, Minister of the Treasury; Seyyid Mohammad Tahazadeh, Minister of Health; and Khalil Khosravi, Minister of the Interior. Only one of these men had been among the founders of the Komala, but all belonged to the middle or upper classes — small merchants, officials, landlords.

9: Roosevelt G-5 (1946-1947) 1947 MA11 Kurd MA11
Mahabad

668 721 The Kurds were repulsed, however, in an attack on the Mahmudabad Pass near Saqqiz, designed to cut the Senandaj Road, and again later after they had seized the hills overlooking Saqqiz. The Iranian army drove them off and erected round watch-towers of mud on the summits, each manned by thirty or forty soldiers. Finally a truce was effected whereby liaison officers were exchanged,[1] each side was to stay within its lines, and the Kurds were to have the right to inspect vehicles going from Saqqiz to Baneh and Sardasht and so stop arms and ammunition from reaching the Iranian garrisons there. The Shikak and the Herki returned to the north.

CHARACTER OF QAZI MOHAMMAD AND THE KURDISH REPUBLIC

186 609 After this period of conflict, Qazi Mohammad drew aside his iron curtain and gave non-Soviet observers a chance to look at his country. Although feeling against the British on account of the expulsion of the Barzanis from Iraq, Soviet-sponsored anti-British propaganda, and certain events in the past in which the Kurds considered they had been victims of British opportunism, was too strong to permit them to visit the tiny Kurdish Republic, at various times four Americans and one Frenchman were guests of Qazi Mohammad.

These observers found the Kurdish Republic to be a going concern. 642 Although destitute of any legal basis whatsoever, Qazi 621 Mohammad's *de facto* government continued as before, changing only the title of its ministers from *wazir* (minister) to *rais* (chief). • 624 Qazi Mohammad himself became merely the leader of the party (Pishwa-i-Hizb-i-Dimokrat-i-Kurd). The villages were run by their old landlords and tribal leaders with the aid of a gendarmerie locally recruited and dressed in Kurdish costume, but commanded by officers from Mahabad with Soviet uniforms. Mahabad itself, from a typically drab Persian provincial town, had become picturesque and colorful, its streets thronging with Kurds in national costume, free for the moment of the hated Iranian soldiers and gendarmes.

[1] The Kurdish liaison officer was "Colonel" Mohammad Nanaverzadeh, one of the original founders of the Komala, later killed when the Iranian army plane in which he was traveling crashed near Baneh.